

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-08

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSC-05 NSCE-00 INR-05

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FM AMEMBASSY BERLIN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 3052

INFO AMEMASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 BERLIN 6472

LIMDIS

E O 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PGOV, WB, GE, GW

SUBJ: HONECKER-GAUS MEETING OF AUGUST 12

REF: BERLIN 6471

SUMMARY:

IN HIS AUGUST 12 MEETING WITH FRG PERMANENT REPRESENTATION  
CHIEF GAUS, HONECKER NOTED THE GDR WAS CONCERNED ABOUT THE  
RECENT BORDER INCIDENTS AND SAID HE WOULD MAKE EVERY EFFORT  
TO PREVENT ESCALATION OF THE SITUATION, IF BONN WOULD  
OBSERVE TREATIES AND THE "REALITIES", ACCORDING TO FRG  
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MISSION DEPUTY CHIEF BRAUTIGAM. THE WEST GERMAN HERE

ASSESS THE GAUS-HONECKER MEETING AS A HONECKER EFFORT TO DEESCALATE THE CURRENT TENSE SITUATION AND AS A SIGN THAT HE IS PERSONALLY COMMITTED TO A POLICY OF NORMALIZATION, BUT THEY NOTE ALSO THAT THE GAUS/HONECKER MEETING TOOK PLACE ONE DAY AFTER ABRASIMOV MET WITH HONECKER. IN ANOTHER DEVELOPMENT, THE WEST GERMANS HAVE INFORMED US OF AN AUGUST 12 MEETING BETWEEN PERMANENT MISSION AND MFA REPRESENTATIVES IN WHICH THE EAST GERMANS WARNED THEY WOULD NOT TOLERATE "MISUSE" OF THE TRANSIT ROUTES IN CONNECTION WITH THE AUGUST 13-15 "STERNFAHRT". END SUMMARY

1. DEPUTY CHIEF OF THE FRG PERMANENT REPRESENTATION TO THE GDR BRAUTIGAM CALLED HIS BRITISH, FRENCH AND US COUNTERPARTS TOGETHER LATE AFTERNOON AUGUST 13 TO REPORT ON THE AUGUST 12 MEETING BETWEEN GAUS AND HONECKER. BRAUTIGAM SAID GAUS WAS "NOT AVAILABLE" TO BRIEF THE THREE WESTERN AMBASSADORS AND THAT THERE WOULD BE NO ONE IN BONN AT AN APPROPRIATE LEVEL PROBABLY UNTIL THURSDAY TO INFORM THE BONN GROUP ON THE MEETING. THEREFORE, THE WEST GERMANS HERE THOUGHT IT IMPORTANT TO PROVIDE THE THREE WESTERN ALLIES WITH A FULL REPORT AS PROMPTLY AS POSSIBLE.

2. BRAUTIGAM SAID THE INITIATIVE FOR THE HONECKER-GUAS MEETING WAS TAKEN A "LITTLE WHILE AGO" BY CHANCELLOR SCHMIDT. THE GDR RESPONDED LATE ON AUGUST 11, ASKING THAT GAUS SEE HONECKER AT NOON ON AUGUST 12. THE EAST GERMANS SAID THEY HAD AN INTEREST IN A MEETING, AND HONECKER PROPOSED THAT THE MEETING BE MADE KNOWN TO THE PRESS. THE MEETING, WHICH LASTED A LITTLE MORE THAN ONE HOUR AND IN WHICH ONLY GAUS AND HONECKER PARTICIPATED, WAS CHARACTERIZED BY BRAUTIGAM AS BUSINESSLIKE, RELAXED AND "NOT UNFRIENDLY."

3. GAUS BEGAN THE CONVERSATION BY EXPRESSING CONCERN OVER THE RECENT BORDER INCIDENTS AND SURPRISE OVER THE LANGUAGE AND CONTENT OF THE MAJOR AUGUST 9 NEUES DEUTSCHLAND (ND) EDITORIAL. HE EMPHASIZED, AT THE CHANCELLOR'S REQUEST, THAT BONN WAS PREPARED TO AND CONFIDENTIAL

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INTERESTED IN CONTINUING THE PROCESS OF NORMALIZATION ON THE BASIS OF TREATIES. AT THE SAME TIME, THE FRG HAD NO INTENTION OF ENTERING INTO A NEW DEBATE ON PRINCIPLES, OR OF DISCUSSING DIFFERENCES THAT EXIST ON THE GERMAN QUESTION.

4. ACCORDING TO BRAUTIGAM, HONECKER RESPONDED BY NOTING THAT THE GDR WAS VERY CONCERNED ABOUT PROVOCATIONS

ON THE BORDER. THE INFORMATION PUBLISHED IN THE EAST GERMAN PRESS ABOUT WHAT HAD HAPPENED AT THE BORDER WAS CORRECT. THERE HAD BEEN AN INCREASE IN INCIDENTS. IN SOME CASES THESE WERE NOT UNINTENTIONAL TRESPASSES BUT ATTACKS ON THE BORDER. HONECKER MENTIONED IN THIS CONNECTION THE GAERTENSCHLAGER CASE AND THE RECENT INCIDENT INVOLVING A WEST GERMAN WHO HAD THROWN AN ANCHOR OVER THE BORDER. THE FRG SHOULD DO MORE TO PREVENT SUCH PROVOCATIONS AND SHOULD TAKE SERIOUSLY WHAT IS HAPPENING. AT THE SAME TIME, ACCORDING TO BRAUTIGAM, HONECKER EXPRESSED UNDERSTANDING FOR BONN'S SITUATION DURING THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN, AND COULD UNDERSTAND THE JULY 28 FEDERAL GOVERNMENT'S STATEMENT (WHICH GDR DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER NIER HAD PROTESTED), BUT INCIDENTS AT THE BORDER HAD TO BE TAKEN SERIOUSLY.

5. ACCORDING TO BRAUTIGAM, HONECKER WENT ON TO SAY THERE WERE ABSOLUTELY NO DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE GDR AND SOVIET UNION ON THE QUESTION OF THE INVIOABILITY OF THE BORDER. (NOTE: THE FRG MISSION HERE FINDS HONECKER'S STATEMENT INTRIGUING, AND IS INCLINED TO THINK THERE MAY HAVE BEEN SOME GDR/USSR DIFFERENCES WHICH HAVE SINCE BEEN SMOOTHED OVER. THE WEST GERMANS ALSO NOTE THAT "EASTERN EUROPEAN QUARTERS" IN EAST BERLIN HAVE TAKEN A CAUTIOUS, NOT TOTALLY SUPPORTIVE POSITION OF THE GDR WITH RESPECT TO THE RECENT BORDER INCIDENTS.)

6. HONECKER SAID HE PERSONALLY WOULD MAKE EVERY EFFORT TO PREVENT ESCALATION OF THE SITUATION ON THE GDR SIDE, PRESUPPOSING THAT THE FRG IS READY TO ABIDE BY TREATIES AND "REALITIES". HE REPEATEDLY EMPHASIZED THE GDR WAS PREPARED TO CONTINUE THE PROCESS OF DETENTE AND

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NORMALIZATION, IF THE FRG WAS ALSO SO DISPOSED. IN THIS CONNECTION, THE GDR IS PREPARED , BEFORE THE OCTOBER 3 FRG ELECTIONS, TO DISCUSS PROBLEMS, "INDIVIDUAL QUESTIONS" (EINZELNE FRAGEN) WHICH ARE ON THE TABLE. HONECKER SPECIFICALLY MENTIONED IN THIS CONTEXT THE MATTER OF NON-COMMERCIAL PAYMENTS, WHICH HAS A HUMANITARIAN CHARACTER. HE EVIDENTLY WAS REFERRING TO THE JULY APPROACH THE FRG HAD MADE TO THE EAST GERMANS ON PRACTICAL MATTERS. AT THE SAME TIME HONECKER DID NOT MENTION SUCH LARGER QUESTIONS AS CULTURAL AND TECHNICAL COOPERATION BETWEEN THE TWO STATES. AT NO TIME, SO FAR AS BRAUTIGAM KNEW, WAS BERLIN MENTIONED.

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INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 NSC-05 NSCE-00 INR-05 CIAE-00

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O R 141745Z AUG 76

FM AMEMBASSY BERLIN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 3053

INFO AMEMASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

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7. THE FRG MISSION HERE HAS THE IMPRESSION FROM HONECKER'S REMARKS THAT HE WAS TRYING TO "DEESCALATE" THE AUGUST 9 ND EDITORIAL. IN THIS CONNECTION, HONECKER MADE NO MENTION OF ANY OF THE THREATS IN THE EDITORIAL ABOUT CURTAILING TRAVEL AND DID NOT REFER DIRECTLY OR INDIRECTLY TO GENSCHER'S APPARENT DESIRE TO BRING THE MATTER OF GDR VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS BEFORE THE UNGA. THEIR FURTHER IMPRESSION IS THAT IN GENERAL HONECKER WANTS TO DEESCALATE THE CURRENT CONTROVERSY AND TO URGE SCHMIDT TO DO LIKEWISE IN THE FRG. BRAUTIGAM EXPRESSED THE VIEW THAT HONECKER IS PERSONALLY COMMITTED TO THE POLICY OF COOPERATION AND NORMALIZATION AND

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WOULD LIKE TO SEE A CORRESPONDING COMMITMENT FROM THE CHANCELLOR. THE WEST GERMANS HERE CONSIDER IT SIGNIFICANT THAT THE GDR AGREED TO THE GAUS/HONECKER MEETING ONE DAY AFTER ABRASIMOV MET WITH HONECKER.

8. BRAUTIGAM ALSO TOOK THE OCCASION TO REPORT ON A MEETING (BONN 13606) HE HAD WITH GDR MFA DEPUTY SECTION CHIEF SCHINDLER TWO HOURS AFTER THE GAUS/HONECKER MEETING, AND, ACCORDING TO BRAUTIGAM CAREFULLY COORDINATED BY THE EAST GERMANS WITH THE GAUS/HONECKER MEETING. SCHINDLER TOLD BRAUTIGAM (AND GAVE HIM A NON-PAPER) THAT THE GDR WAS AWARE OF A SERIES OF "PROVOCATIVE MEETINGS" WHICH WOULD TAKE PLACE IN WEST BERLIN AUGUST 13 TO 15 NEAR THE FRONTIER OF THE GDR. THE MFA WAS EMPHATICALLY RESISTING (VERWAHRT SICH NACHDRUCKLICH) THE INTENDED MISUSE IN THIS CONNECTION OF THE TRANSIT ROUTES, SCHINDLER ADDED THAT THE GDR WOULD NOT TOLERATE SUCH A MISUSE. IN RESPONSE, BRAUTIGAM INFORMED SCHINDLER THAT THE GDR WAS NOT ENTITLED TO TAKE SUCH ACTIONS SINCE EVERYBODY HAS THE RIGHT TO USE THE ROUTES PROVIDED THEY ABIDE BY THE FOUR POWER AGREEMENT AND THE TRANSIT AGREEMENT. IF THE GDR WERE TO EXCLUDE PEOPLE FROM THE TRANSIT ROUTES, THIS WOULD BRING ABOUT A SERIOUS SITUATION. BRAUTIGAM MADE AVAILABLE A COPY OF THE NON-PAPER, THE TEXT OF WHICH IS BEING TRANSMITTED IN A SEPARATE MESSAGE.

9. COMMENT: BASED ON BRAUTIGAM'S ACCOUNT OF THE GAUS/HONECKER MEETING, IT WOULD APPEAR THAT EAST GERMANS WISH TO CONVEY THE IMPRESSION THAT THEY ARE PREPARED TO DEESCALATE THE SITUATION, BUT THAT THE BALL IS IN BONN'S COURT. WE ARE INCLINED TO THINK THAT HONECKER'S APPROACH TO GAUS, WHICH DID DEFLATE ND AUGUST 9 EDITORIAL AND SUBSEQUENT GDR PROTESTS BY NIER TO THE WEST GERMAN REPRESENTATION, MAY HAVE BEEN DUE IN PART TO HONECKER'S MEETING WITH ABRASIMOV SHORTLY AFTER THE LATTER'S RETURN TO EAST BERLIN. AT THE SAME TIME, CAREFUL COORDINATION OF SCHINDLER/BRAUTIGAM AND GAUS/HONECKER MEETINGS, SUBSEQUENT ACTIONS BY GDR AGAINST "STERNFAHRT" BUSES, AND "KAMPFAPPEL" COMMEMORATION OF

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WALL ALL SUGGEST THAT GDR IS NOT PREPARED TO BACK DOWN VERY FAR FROM ITS POSITION ON THE RIGHT TO TAKE NECESSARY MEASURES TO DEFEND BORDER. THERE WAS GENERAL AGREEMENT AMONG ALLIED REPRESENTATIVES HERE THAT

QUESTION OF GDR TREATMENT OF TRANSIT ROUTES WAS ISSUE  
FOR BONN GROUP TO ADDRESS.POLANSKY

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